

SLAVERY AGITATION AND ITS INFLUENCE  
ON THE STATE OF KANSAS

by

LYDIA ELMA MAAG

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## Preface

Perhaps no other state entering the Union in the past three-quarters of a century has a greater historical interest than Kansas, coming into existence during the stormy period noted for the struggle that organized Kansas as a free state. Conflicting viewpoints are still being presented: Did the slaveholders sufficiently establish the institution of slavery in Kansas Territory to make it permanent? Did the writers, in discussing this later, give the subject a greater degree of importance than it deserved? The purpose of this thesis is to examine the evidence concerning the importance of the slavery agitation in the making of the Kansas State. Had the Missouri Compromise stayed in effect there could have been no struggle in the Kansas Territory between 1854 and 1861, but Compromises are rarely permanent settlements. Kansas was so situated, geographically, as to be the border between the two warring sections.

The term "Kansas" as used in this thesis is applied to that territory located between 37° and 40° north latitude, west of Missouri to 102° west longitude. The name Kansas does not come into use until the year 1854. This territory was known as a part of the Great American Desert, and also a part of the Louisiana Territory. From 1830 to 1854 it

was simply called the Indian Territory. To simplify the reading, the writer has used the terms Kansas and Kansas Territory. The signing of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, May 30, 1854, opened the territory for settlement. Territorial days extended to January 29, 1861, but this thesis is concerned with the territory from the years that slaves were first brought into it until it was admitted into the Union as a free state.

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## 1 CONGRESSIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE KANSAS SLAVERY MOVEMENT

The slavery struggle in Kansas did not begin in 1854 in the organization of the Kansas Territory, but was firmly established long before Kansas was ever thought of.

"Slavery in Kansas" cannot be considered apart and distinctly asparate from the national question, but rather as one phase of that great national problem that faced the United States from the adoption of the Constitution, 1789, until the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. To have a clearer conception of the situation in Kansas, 1854 to 1860, the history of slavery as it affects this Territory, will have to be briefly reviewed.

Slavery, though obsolete in most European countries, was first brought into the New World by the Spanish early in the sixteenth century. Their houses and fortifications were built by negro slaves. The first slaves carried to the English mainland colonies were brought to Virginia more than a century after the introduction of the system by the Spanish. Slavery was an accepted institution in the United States in 1789, as the constitution provides for the return of slaves who might escape from one state to another.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Constitution of United States, Article IV, Sec. 2.

This was the first explicit national recognition of slavery. In 1793, Congress passed the first fugitive slave law.<sup>2</sup>

The first Congressional legislation affecting Kansas was the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, 1803. The present State of Kansas was included in this territory. When the Louisiana territory came into the possession of the United States, the right of its people to own slaves was guaranteed by the Articles of Cession.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, slavery was a legalized institution in the whole of Kansas until 1820. Then the Missouri Compromise Act prohibited slavery in that part of the Louisiana purchase north of 36° 30' north latitude (except Missouri). This measure was the answer to numerous questions facing Congress and demanding an immediate solution, such as: Can Congress prohibit slavery in the territories? Can Congress impose conditions on the admission of a State?

This marks the beginning of the struggle between the North and the South in which Kansas played a very important role. Jefferson said, "This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed indeed for the moment. But this is a reprieve only,

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<sup>2</sup> Marion Mills Miller, editor, Great Debates in American History, Vol. IV (New York c. 1913), p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 59, 60.

not a final sentence. A geographical line coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper."<sup>4</sup> A historian of Kansas, who quoted Jefferson, adds the following comment. "This prophecy burst into flames on the prairies of Kansas in 1855. The fires kindled there raged with uncontrollable fury until slavery was burned out of America."<sup>5</sup> His statement is nothing more than propaganda. The fires were not kindled in Kansas, nor did they rage there with uncontrollable fury until slavery was burned out of America. The slavery issue in Kansas was practically closed when the nation entered into a Civil War.

For thirty years, until 1850, the Territory including the present State of Kansas was a free territory. In 1846, a bill was introduced in the House appropriating \$3,000,000 to enable the president of the United States to conclude a treaty of peace with the Republic of Mexico. David Wilmot, a Congressman from Pennsylvania, proposed an amendment to the bill to exclude slavery from any newly acquired territory.<sup>6</sup> The House passed the Wilmot Proviso several times,

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<sup>4</sup> Congressional Globe, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., app., p. 382. (Letter of Jefferson to John Holmes, April 22, 1820).

<sup>5</sup> William E. Connelley, author and compiler, A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans (Chicago, 1918), Vol. 1, p. 294.

<sup>6</sup> Congressional Globe, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 303.

but it was always defeated in the Senate. Henry Clay, hoping to reconcile the opposing sections, introduced the Compromise of 1850 which repudiated that of 1820. Briefly, it proposed that California should be admitted as a free state; the rest of the Mexican cession should be divided into the territories of Utah and New Mexico, both organized on the "squatter sovereignty" principle; slavery was not to be forbidden in Texas; slave trade should be prohibited in the District of Columbia; and a new fugitive-slave law should be enacted.<sup>7</sup>

The next slavery act to affect Kansas, and this time directly, was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Proposals were introduced in Congress as early as 1847 to leave the question of slavery to the people. On December 2 of that year, Daniel S. Dickenson, Senator from New York, had proposed resolutions asserting, "That in organizing a territorial government for territory belonging to the United States . . . all questions concerning domestic policy therein should be left to the legislature chosen by the people thereof."<sup>8</sup> Southern men objected to this settlement. They declared that any effort of Congress or of a Territorial

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<sup>7</sup> Idem., 31 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 244-247.

<sup>8</sup> Roy Gittinger, "Breaking-up of the Larger Indian Territory," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol. III, No. 4 (March, 1917), p. 456.



legislature to prohibit slavery in a territory before its admission as a state was unconstitutional. A few days later, December 24, Lewis Cass, Senator from Michigan, declared definitely in favor of popular sovereignty as the means of settling the question of slavery in Territories. Petitions were received in the first session of the thirty-second Congress (1851-1852) for the erection of a territory west of the Missouri River, but no action was taken. The first real effort in Congress to organize a territory including the present State of Kansas was made on December 13, 1852.<sup>9</sup> Nothing came of this bill and on February 2, 1853, William A. Richardson, of Illinois, reported another bill, providing for the establishment of the Territory of Nebraska to embrace the same region as the bill of December 13, 1852. It was ordered laid on the table March 3.<sup>10</sup> Thus ended the second attempt to organize the territory which would embrace Kansas. No reference was made to slavery in either bill, and had either become a law Kansas would have been a free territory, as provided in the Missouri Compromise.

The third attempt to organize the territory was successful. This was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of January 23,

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47.     9   Congressional Globe, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., Pt. 1, p.

10   Ibid., p. 77.

1854. Senator Atchison, of Missouri, in his speech in the Senate, March, 1853, opposed the organization or the settlement of the Kansas-Nebraska Territory unless, "my constituents and the constituents of the whole South, of the slave states of the Union, could go into it upon the same footing, with equal rights and equal privileges, carrying that species of property with them as other people of this Union."<sup>11</sup> The people of Iowa were especially interested in the organization of the Nebraska Territory and urged that the question of slavery be left to the citizens of the territory when they formed their state government. The Iowa people expected that Kansas, left to the people, would be free, but, if left to Congress, would be slave. Stephen A. Douglas, who may be given credit for the bill, did not believe that slavery would ever be established in any of the new territories, regardless of the laws enacted. As early as 1850 he said, "I think I am safe in assuming that each of these territories formed from the Oregon Country, Louisiana Purchase, and Mexican Cession will be free territories and free states, whether Congress shall prohibit slavery or not."<sup>12</sup> Douglas introduced the bill providing

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<sup>11</sup> *Idem.*, Pt. 2, p. 1113.

<sup>12</sup> "Speech of Douglas," March 13, 1850, Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., app., p. 371.

for two territories, Kansas and Nebraska; and expressly provided that as to Kansas, the Missouri Compromise be "null and void".<sup>13</sup>

That part of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill which affected Kansas and which started all discussion, propaganda or otherwise, is stated as follows:

"The same is hereby erected into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Kansas, and when admitted as a state or states, the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission . . . . That the constitution and all laws of the United States which are locally applicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory of Kansas as elsewhere within the United States, except in the eighth section of the Act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March sixth 1820, which, being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise measure, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of the Act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States: provided that nothing herein shall be construed to revive or put into force any law or regulation which may have existed prior to the 6th of March, 1820, either protecting, establishing, prohibiting, or abolishing slavery."<sup>14</sup>

The last Congressional barrier was removed. After the

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 371.

<sup>14</sup> Congressional Globe, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., app. p. 382.

passage of the above bill, so far as Congressional action was concerned, "every foot of land in the United States was open to slavery. Was there any agency or power anywhere that could prevent its extension to Kansas?"<sup>15</sup> The North believed that the territory was divided to keep up the old idea of equilibrium of northern and southern interests, and that Kansas was to be a slave state. The South wanted popular sovereignty in order to remove Congressional interference. The leading thinkers hardly expected a real extension of slavery to the territory. Robinson, a rabid antislavery man, went so far as to declare that these men, "conscientiously supposed that instead of its being a criminal offence, it was not only justifiable, but a virtue, to persecute, even to death all northern people who should enter the territory with a disposition to defeat or thwart that object."<sup>16</sup> Against this view, however, stands Professor Frank Hodder, of Kansas University, who says that "it was perfectly clear at the time that the division was due to railroad considerations and was made at the request of a free state [Iowa]. In introducing the substitute bill, Douglas said: 'Upon consulting with the delegates from Iowa,

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<sup>15</sup> Charles Robinson, The Kansas Conflict (Lawrence, 1898), p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> As quoted in John H. Gihon, Geary and Kansas: Governor Geary's Administration in Kansas with a Complete story of The Territory Until July 1857 (Philadelphia, 7), p. 28.

I find that they think that their local interests . . . require that the Territory of Nebraska should be divided into two Territories . . . .<sup>17</sup>

Without going further into the antecedents of the struggle, it may be said that so far as Congress was concerned, slavery after 1854 was a legitimate institution and could exist in the Kansas Territory at the will of the people. The extension of slavery was now a local issue, made so by the voluntary acceptance of "Squatter Sovereignty" by the South. Which would be victorious--the free state people or the proslavery people? Was the danger of Kansas becoming a slave-state as great as political propaganda, which in later years was taught as history, pictured it?

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17 Frank H. Hodder, "The Railroad Background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol. XII (June, 1925), p. 16.

## II CONFLICTING OPINIONS OF NORTH AND SOUTH

"Slavery in Kansas" was certainly a sectional controversy. Strange as it may seem, not all proslavery advocates lived in the South, nor all antislavery advocates in the North. When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed, the opinion of the unthinking masses was that Nebraska would develop into a free community and that Kansas was practically assured as a slave state. There were those who thought that its geographical position marked it out as the field for immigration from Missouri and other southern states. However, there were some who believed that Kansas was directly in line of emigration from the free states.

A Northern correspondent for the New York Tribune, July 4, 1854, had the following to say: "Since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill . . . great interest is felt in the question whether Kansas will be free or a slave state. My opinion is that not only Kansas, but Missouri also, will be free states in ten years. My opinion is founded on the following reasons:

1. The best lands and the best climate between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains are embraced within the State and Territory.
2. They lie directly in the line of emigration from the free States . . . .

3. Slavery is already receding from Missouri southward. Every year the Haleys [slave-trader] of the slave traffic are shipping their cargoes of human chattel to the Southern Market . . . . Some of the richest slaveholders are moving with their property to Louisiana and Texas.<sup>1</sup>

Another correspondent in the same issue wrote in glowing terms of the profits to be had in raising hemp, which at that time was bringing a high price, and Kansas, he says, "is remarkably fitted, and is causing a great rush for claims there, which are made with little trouble by Missourians. Hemp raising is more profitable than any other business in the country."

A few months later a Missourian expressed his hopes as follows: "I am fully convinced that Kansas will be a slave state. Slavery does not exist there, in fact . . . . At present, the portion of the Territory open for settlement is mainly in the possession of those favorable to slavery--they cover the large portion of the Territory suitable for small farms and men of limited means. The parts unoccupied are prairies remote from timber and unfit for settlement by poor men . . . . Our country [Flatte County, Missouri] is as healthy as any fertile land can be; Kansas will probably be even healthier; negroes particularly enjoy almost an

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1 New York Tribune, July 4, 1854.

exemption from disease."<sup>2</sup>

In answer to Dodson's statement, "Slavery does now exist there" the *Times* had the following to say: "As regards slavery, it is true that it exists in Kansas and has for years . . . . But the feeling of the emigrants is in favor of freedom, and if the scheme of Atchison and Douglas [popular sovereignty] is not too fatally successful, the 'peculiar' institution will be voted out by a large majority. The real emigrants, who come from the South, come to get rid of slavery."<sup>3</sup>

One of the strongest advocates for slavery in Kansas was Dr. Benjamin Stringfellow, an early comer from Missouri to Atchison, Kansas. Stringfellow was not a large slaveholder, but did his work in establishing the institution of slavery in Kansas by corresponding with slaveholders in the South, and with southern congressional leaders at Washington. Many of his letters were printed in leading newspapers of the day.

The most widely read of the letters was written to Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina and three other Southern members of Congress, encouraging them to introduce favorable slavery legislation at every opportunity. "Slavery," he

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<sup>2</sup> Ed. M. Dodson in Tri-weekly Examiner of Georgia, September 9, 1854.

<sup>3</sup> New York Daily Times, January 10, 1855



said, "exists in Kansas and is legal. It will never be abolished . . . . Kansas is not suited for small farms; it cannot be settled by those who have not the command of labor. In no instance has prairie been settled by poor men." He had no doubt whatever that Kansas would be a slaveholding state. He gave his correspondents statistics to uphold his argument: "During the summer of 1854, there were 3000 northern abolitionists. By the day of election there were only 248 left and on the day following 150 left. Missouri is awake to the project and determined to aid the rights of the South . . . . The Southern people come to make homes, not primarily to establish slavery." Preston Brooks had written to Stringfellow for information, and the three questions he asks are answered in this same letter.

1. 'Will Kansas be a slaveholding state?' It will. The proslavery vote is the strongest . . . . There is a majority of 4 to 1 in the Territory in favor of making Kansas a slaveholding state.
2. 'Is slave labor profitable in Kansas?' I am inclined to believe that Kansas will prove healthier than Missouri, there being less low marshy land in Kansas.
3. 'Is it safe to take slaves to Kansas now?' There is no danger from the law . . . . He also explains that Kansas is farther from the underground railroads and hiding places of the abolitionists.<sup>4</sup>

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4 Excerpts from a letter by Benjamin Stringfellow to Preston Brooks and three other Southern Senators, in Washington Sentinel, January 10, 1855; Also in New York Tribune, January 30, 1855.

Another time he wrote a pamphlet saying: "It is proper we should say a word of the character of the Territory, and its adaptedness [sic] to a slaveholding population. Politicians may prate [talk], and letter writers may squibble [sic], about the homes for the poor . . . but it [Kansas] is the least desirable country to the poor man . . . . The absence of timber renders it utterly unfit for him who has to rely on his own unaided arm. To the man of capital, to him alone who can command labor, is Kansas desirable. The soil is adapted to the culture of hemp, and to the raising of stock. Its climate is peculiarly healthy to the negro. Nature intended it for a slaveholding state; necessity will force it to be such."<sup>5</sup>

A slaveowner in the South had written to Stringfellow inquiring if it would be safe to take slaves to Kansas. He received an answer to the effect that Kansas had laws more than sufficient to protect slave property.<sup>6</sup> However, Governor Robert F. Walker said, "There is a law more powerful than the legislation of man, more potent than passion, or prejudice, that must ultimately determine the location of slavery in this country; it is the isothermal line, it is

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<sup>5</sup> Benjamin Stringfellow, Slavery No Evil, or The North and the South (St. Louis, 1854), pp. 7, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Topeka Journal, January 10, 1903, reprint from the New York Daily Times.

the law of the thermometer, of latitude or altitude, regarding climate, labor, and productions, and, as a consequence, profit and loss . . . . The mountain heights of the tropics of slavery can no more exist in northern latitudes because it is unprofitable . . . ."<sup>7</sup> Governor Walker was from Pennsylvania, a proslavery man in view, but no fanatic. He served as governor from March, 1857, to December of the same year. He was probably as fair as any other governor to the free-state people of the Kansas Territory.

Eli Thayer, organizer and director of the New England Emigrant Aid Society, refused to believe that slavery ever had a "ghost of a show to impose itself on her [Kansas] institutions." Kansas lay north of the accepted lines of slavery. People migrate principally along climatic lines, and Kansas was more accessible to the country north of the Ohio River than it was from the South. He was also of the opinion that the repeal of the compromise measure, in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, resulted in the "suicide of slavery". Kansas was a desert, and the north was not even interested in it, until there was so much agitation concerning the Territory.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> "Governor Walker's Administration," in Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. V, p. 336.

<sup>8</sup> Eli Thayer, The Kansas Crusade (New York, 1899), p. 263.

Stephen A. Douglas, though an advocate of popular sovereignty, said, "I do not believe that there is a man in Congress who thinks it Kansas Territory could be permanently a slaveholding country."<sup>9</sup> George E. Badger of North Carolina declared that he had no idea of seeing a slave population in either Kansas or Nebraska.<sup>10</sup> Both of these men were expressing a conviction of realities rather than northern sentiment. The Arkansas Intelligencer did not react so favorably to these convictions. "It is instructive to read the arguments just now very abundant in the Administration Journals of the north, showing that slavery can never go into Kansas. Do these falsifiers and dodgers expect to be believed in the face of the notorious fact that slavery is there already, and that the only political organization yet formed in the Territory is one formed for the protection of the slaveholders . . . ."<sup>11</sup> Parker said, "I know northern politicians say, 'Slavery will never go there!' Do they believe their own words? They believe it: In 1820, they said it could not go to Missouri; then, there were but 10,222 therein, now [1853], 87,422! More than a quarter of

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<sup>9</sup> Elmer Leroy Craik, "Southern Interests in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858," in Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XV, p. 336; Congressional Globe, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., app., p. 145.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>11</sup> The Arkansas Intelligencer.

all the slaves in the United States are north of 36° 30'  
 . . . ."12

The question was undecided. Some men from the north and the south alike did not believe the slavery institution possible in Kansas, while others were as firmly convinced that slavery was possible, practical, and inevitable. During this period of indecision men from the South did not care to remove to a place where their slaves might be insecure, and it took just as much courage for the men of the North to go to a Territory where slavery so far had seemingly been triumphant. In the words of a Missouri newspaper: "Slavery will never sustain itself in a border state by the sword. It may conquer in some respects, but it can never conquer a peace. Slavery will perish while you defend it. Slaveholders will not stay long to meet it . . . . Thus the slavery propagandists who repealed the Missouri Compromise to make Kansas a slave state will make Missouri free; and in endeavoring to expel abolition from Kansas, they will fill both Kansas and Missouri with an entire free white population, worth more to the two States than all negroes in America."13

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12 Theodore Parker, Some Thoughts on The New Assault Upon Freedom in America, and General States of The Country (Boston, 1854), p. 58. in Collected Speeches and Pamphlets, Kansas Historical Library.

13 St. Louis Intelligencer, October 10, 1855.

The preceding excerpts are but a few of the many pointing out that all was not smooth sailing for the preslavery people even at the beginning of the contest. They were well aware of the fact that to establish slavery in Kansas meant a real struggle and even then the future looked very doubtful for their institution.

### III THE STRUGGLE IN KANSAS, 1854-1861

Very soon after the territory of Kansas was opened for settlement, and in a few instances, before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, proslavery men from Missouri "rushed over the line, marked trees, and drove stakes in every direction."<sup>1</sup> Many of these returned home instead of establishing permanent homes. It seemed to the free-state man that everywhere he attempted to stake a claim a proslavery man already had his marker there. One man described the situation as it appeared to the Northern people in 1854 as follows: "No sooner was Kansas opened to settlement than the minions of the slave power swarmed across the border, seemingly determined to occupy the whole territory. Leavenworth, Atchison, Iowa Point, Doniphan, and other places were occupied. These were the pioneers of the slave

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1 Robinsen, Conflict in Kansas, p. 75.

power."<sup>2</sup> The Democratic Platform, a small paper published at Liberty, Missouri, urged that every man who owned a negro go and settle in the territory until there would not be any room for their "Northern brethern".<sup>3</sup> Southern leaders were logical in their reasoning--to make Kansas a slave-state it must be settled, or at least claimed, by proslavery people.

Missouri was very much interested in Kansas, even before the organization of the territory. Slave property in Missouri would be insecure if Kansas was a free state, and Missouri was fully awake to that danger. David R. Atchison, Senator from Missouri, 1841-1855, "thought that the interests of Missouri required nothing beyond formal repeal of the offensive legislation [Compromise of 1820] which laid restrictions upon slavery. In that event Missouri would be able to take care of herself and Kansas also."<sup>4</sup>

The first action of those interested in the advance of slavery into Kansas was the holding of proslavery conventions. These conventions were commonly called "squatter meetings", because they were composed of leading citizens of Missouri who crossed the border for the meetings and then returned to their homes. These men were not legal citizens of the territory. The first recognized squatter meeting was held, June

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Democratic Platform, June 8, 1854.

<sup>4</sup> Leverett Wilson Spring, Kansas: the Prelude to the war for the Union (Boston c. 1907), pp. 30-36.

10, 1854, at Salt Creek Valley near Leavenworth to discuss territorial affairs. Their report "announced that slavery already existed in Kansas, and urged its friends to lose no time in strengthening and extending it to the utmost. Missouri leaders perceived the necessity and the expediency of immediately flooding Kansas with slaves."<sup>5</sup> They believed at that time that this strategy, "courageously and persistently prosecuted" would win the day. Stringfellow was sent to Washington in the winter of 1854 and 1855 in the interest of extensive slave colonization. Meeting with a group of Southern Congressmen he showed them how slave labor could be as successful in Kansas as in Missouri. He said that the situation demanded negroes and that "two thousand slaves lodged in Kansas will make a slave state out of it."<sup>6</sup> The two more important resolutions of the first meeting are the following: "That we will afford protection to no abolitionist as a settler of this country; that we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in this territory, and advise slave-holders to introduce their property as early as possible."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 27; also, House Report No. 200, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., (1855-1856), p. 2; D. W. Wilder, The Annals of Kansas (Topeka, 1886), p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> Spring, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> House Report No. 200, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 2.



A little over a year later, November 15, 1855, another squatter meeting was held, this time at the proslavery town of Leavenworth. The sympathizers called this the "Law and Order" meeting. John Calhoun, Surveyor general of Kansas and Nebraska, 1854, but best known for his friendship with Lincoln and his reputed complicity in election abuses in Kansas, did not mince his words when he addressed the convention. The following, quoted from his speech, will be enough to reveal how he stood on the issue: "You yield and you will have the most infernal government that ever cursed a land. I would rather be a painted slave over in Missouri, or a serf to the Czar of Russia, than have the abolitionists in power."<sup>8</sup> The following is the action of the squatters at this meeting: "Resolved, That the institution of slavery is known and recognized in this Territory; that we repel the doctrine that it is a moral and political evil, and we hurl back with scorn upon its slanderous authors the charges of inhumanity; and we warn all persons not to come to our peaceful firesides to slander us and sow seeds of discord between master and servant; for, much as we appreciated the necessity to which we may be driven, we cannot be responsible for the consequences."<sup>9</sup> Commenting on the evils of slavery

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<sup>8</sup> Frank W. Blackmar, editor, Kansas (Chicago c. 1912), Vol. 1, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> House Report No. 200, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 41.

Stringfellow had already pointed out that religion placed a seal on slavery.<sup>10</sup>

The influence of these squatter meetings did not stop in Kansas but was followed up by the organization of numerous lodges for the purpose of extending slavery into Kansas. These lodges were similar to political campaign clubs of today. Their primary objective was to send voters to participate in the territorial elections, and these voters were admonished to elect none to office but those favorable to slavery extension.<sup>11</sup> Although, in the final count, the South was successful in her attempts to make Kansas a slave state, to these lodges is due the fact that the struggle was extended as long as it was. They certainly succeeded in controlling the territorial elections for some time.

The first territorial election, November 28, 1854, was called by Andrew Reeder of Pennsylvania, the newly appointed governor of the Kansas Territory, for the purpose of choosing a territorial delegate to Congress. This election was well advertised in Missouri by the lodges, and citizens were influenced to go to Kansas and vote. One historian said that "1600 armed men from Missouri marched into the territory to cast their votes for J. W. Whitfield as territorial delegate. Reeder raised no objection to this illegality; nor did the

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<sup>10</sup> Stringfellow, Negro-Slavery No Evil, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> House Report No. 200, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 41.

House hesitate to admit Whitfield to a seat."<sup>12</sup> There is no record of the actual number of Missourians voting at either one of the first two territorial elections. However, there were 1729 illegal votes cast at the first election and many of these were by Missourians.

To simplify the reading, the results of the first two elections<sup>13</sup> have been arranged in tabular form.

Election Returns, by Districts,<sup>14</sup> November 28, 1854.

<u>District</u>	<u>Total Votes</u>	<u>Legal Votes</u>	<u>Illegal Votes</u>
First	300	300	---
Second	261	35	226
Third	47	47	---
Fourth	161	30	131
Fifth	82	30	52
Sixth	105	25	80
Seventh	604	20	584
Eighth	16	16	---
Ninth	40	40	---
Tenth	37	37	---
Eleventh	245	7	238
Twelfth	41	41	---
Thirteenth	71	71	---
Fourteenth	153	103	50
Fifteenth	306	100	206
Sixteenth	312	150	162
Seventeenth	62	62	---
Total	2843	1114	1729

The proslavery element was triumphant in the first election, but its victory had an almost immediate effect on the Northern people, namely: to excite the people of the

<sup>12</sup> Theodore C. Smith, Parties and Slavery (New York c. 1906) pp. 125, 126.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> See map in app., p. 71, for areas included in each of the seventeen districts.

northern states and to exasperate the actual settlers against their Missouri neighbors.<sup>15</sup>

The second territorial election was on March 30, 1855. The results of this election show that it was evidently better advertised in Missouri than the first. There were 6307 votes polled and probably seventy-five per cent of them were by Missourians. According to the first territorial census, February, 1855, there were only 2905 citizens, and if each one had voted there would have been 3433 illegal votes.

Election Returns, by Districts,<sup>16</sup> March 30, 1855

<u>Districts</u>	<u>Total Votes</u>	<u>Legal Votes</u>	<u>Illegal Votes</u>
First	1034	232	802
Second	341	25	316
Third	372	32	340
Fourth	80	15	65
Fifth	852	224	628
Sixth	350	100	250
Seventh	234	25	209
Eighth	34	34	---
Ninth	75	75	---
Tenth	92	71	21
Eleventh	328	7	321
Twelfth	44	44	---
Thirteenth	239	12	227
Fourteenth	730	200	530
Fifteenth	417	80	337
Sixteenth	964	150	814
Seventeenth	59	59	---
Eighteenth	62	17	45
Total	6307	1402	4905

15 "Congressional Committee Report," in House Report No. 200, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 9.

16 House Report No. 200, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 30.

Again it was a proslavery triumph as far as the election was concerned, but it served only to draw the free-state men into closer union. "Several hundred returning emigrants from Kansas have just entered our city [Independence], said a proslavery man in the St. Louis Republican. "They were preceded by the Westport and Independence bands. They came in at the west side of the public square and proceeded entirely around it, the bands cheering us with fine music, and the emigrants with good news. Immediately following the band were 200 horsemen, following these were 150 wagons . . . . They gave repeated cheers for Kansas and Missouri. They report that not an antislavery man will be in the legislature of Kansas. We have made a clean sweep."<sup>17</sup> "All Hail" "Proslavery Party Victorious" were the headlines for the following article in the Leavenworth Herald, a proslavery publication: "The triumph of the proslavery party is complete and overwhelming. Come on, Southern men; bring your slaves and fill up the Territory. Kansas is saved! . . ."<sup>18</sup>

The Northern papers did not exhibit such cheer; the prospects for slavery were disheartening for the north about this time (1854-1855). The New York Tribune appealed to the

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<sup>17</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 112, quoted from the St. Louis Republican, March 31, 1855.

<sup>18</sup> W. M. Andreas, compiler, Political and Legislative Handbook for Kansas (Topeka, 1891), p. 97.

people as follows:<sup>19</sup>

The great battle between Freedom and Slavery is gradually approaching. Yet the country is everywhere quiet, and the public tranquilly undisturbed. Not even the distant rumble of the tempest is heard. The little cloud that denotes it hovers over only a handful of people in the far west. In Kansas alone exists the speck that foreshadows the coming storm. Kansas has been invaded by slavery. It is threatened with unending curses of that institution. A country large enough for a Kingdom is there to be wrested from the possession of the free states and blackened with African bondage . . . .

If a man can be found in the free states to counsel the surrender of Kansas to the slave power now, or at any period, he is a coward and a slave in soul. That power has entered upon a career of subjugation and conquest. The free Territories of this Union are the possessions it covets, and it has marshalled its forces and armed its mercenary hosts to conquer them. The battle is begun . . . .

To advance slavery further in Kansas, Alabama offered to give free transportation to all Southerners who would go to the territory and settle. Approximately ninety people took advantage of the offer.<sup>20</sup> Jefferson Buford, a southern man with his section's principles at heart, gave his time and fortune to arouse the South to the impending dangers to slavery. His object was to organize an expedition to Kansas. The North, under Eli Thayer, had been doing that for some time; why not the South? The New England Emigrant Aid Society, with its numerous expeditions, was the real cause for

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<sup>19</sup> New York Tribune, April 19, 1855.

<sup>20</sup> Blackmar, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 55.

anxiety and excitement in the South. Radical proslavery men believed that "the avowed purpose of which [New England Emigrant Aid Society] is to throw into Kansas a horde who shall not only exclude slaveholders from that Territory, but in the end abolish slavery in Missouri . . . ."21 By April 4, 1856, Buford had collected four hundred men including the ninety going from Alabama.<sup>22</sup> His expedition was a failure. The Southern institutions could not be transplanted to Kansas. The cost of the enterprise was \$24,625.05, and the contributions towards the funds totaled \$13,967.90, leaving a loss of \$10,657.16. These figures do not include personal expenses and other numerous expenditures that Buford met from his own account.<sup>23</sup>

The struggle was not carried on by proslavery people alone. A constitutional convention was called in the fall of 1855 at Topeka. This time the free-state men were the aggressors. The convention put together a creditable constitution, which adopted the boundaries as stated in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, prohibited slavery after the 4th of July, 1857, and located the capital at Topeka. The constitution was submitted to the voters on December 15, 1855. The proslavery people refused to take any part in the election.

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21 Stringfellow, op. cit., p. 3.

22 Walter Fleming, Buford Expedition to Kansas, p. 31.

The constitution was ratified and put into effect within the state until the latter part of 1857 or the first of 1858, but was rejected by Congress. The Topeka constitution was weak in many respects, but it was at least a basis, a foundation, upon which to work.<sup>24</sup>

The Lecompton Convention was next. According to one Kansas historian, the Topeka constitution did not represent the territory, but the Lecompton convention made an attempt to call all parties together.<sup>25</sup> The situation in Kansas had developed into a deadlock. The proslavery men had refused to vote on the Topeka constitution and now the free-state people were refusing to participate. The Lecompton constitution was not to be voted on as a whole, but only on two issues: a constitution without slavery or one with slavery. There were two elections. The first one was not valid as there was not a fair representation of voters participating. On the second vote 138 were for slavery, 24 opposed to slavery, and 10,226 were against the constitution as a whole.<sup>26</sup>

President Buchanan was by this time fully committed to the extreme southern position and had cast aside every

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23 Ibid., p. 48

24 Spring, op. cit., p. 70.

25 William Smith, Admission of Kansas as a State (Washington, 1858), pp. 17, 18.

26 Wilder, op. cit., p. 203.



vestige of the impartiality he had avowed in the preceding year (1857). When James Buchanan assumed the presidency he was in sympathy with the proslavery issue, but, being disgusted with proceedings in Kansas, he devoted a part of his inaugural address to the situation. "Kansas has for some years occupied too much of the public attention. It is high time this should be directed to more important objects. When once admitted into the Union . . . this excitement beyond her own limits will speedily pass away . . . . If her constitution on the subject of slavery . . . be displeasing to a majority of the people, no human power can prevent them from changing it within a brief period. Under these circumstances it may well be questioned whether the peace and quiet of the whole country are not of greater importance than the mere temporary triumph of either of the political parties in Kansas."<sup>27</sup> February 2, 1858, he sent the Lecompton constitution to Congress and recommended the admission of Kansas under it as a slave state. The final decision was left to the voters of Kansas on August 2, 1858. The vote stood, for accepting the constitution, 1,926, for rejecting it, 11,812.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> James D. Richardson, compiler, Messages and Papers of the Presidents; 1789-1897, Vol. V (Washington, 1897), p. 540.

<sup>28</sup> Wilder, op. cit., p. 203.

There was a third constitution, but it was so heavily weighted with proslavery doctrines, that when submitted to the people on May 18, 1858, the vote was four to one in the negative.<sup>29</sup>

The Wyandotte convention, authorized by the territorial legislature, met in October, 1859 and proposed a fourth constitution. Slavery was prohibited in this, but free negroes were allowed to enter the state and to remain unmolested. February 23, 1860, a law was passed by both territorial houses prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude in the territory.<sup>30</sup> In March, 1860, the constitution was adopted by the people, by a vote of 5,306 to 1,425, and accepted by Congress in January, 1861. For the first time in Kansas the Democratic and Republican parties faced each other in a contest at the polls.<sup>31</sup>

No territorial legislation in any other territory ever equaled the interest that was aroused by that of Kansas. The question of slavery in Kansas was not just within the bounds of Kansas, but was a burning issue in Congress. One of the most notable philippics in the annals of American forensics was delivered by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts

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<sup>29</sup> Spring, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>30</sup> Laws of the Territory of Kansas, 2 Sess., of the General Legislative Assembly, Vol. II, 1860, pp. 200, 201.

<sup>31</sup> Blackmar, Kansas, Vol. I, p. 413.

against alleged proslavery conspirators who were standing in the way of Kansas freedom.<sup>32</sup> Governor Salmon P. Chase of Ohio said in 1858 that the whole action of the Federal government since the Kansas-Nebraska bill seemed to have been directed to the establishment of slavery in the Kansas Territory. "The whole practical effect of the Kansas-Nebraska act has been the substitution of the presidential intervention for slavery, instead of congressional intervention against slavery."<sup>33</sup>

The men commissioned by the Presidents for territorial offices were usually men with proslavery interests. Several of the territorial governors were men from Northern states who wished to satisfy all factions with the consequent misrepresentation of their actions by Yankees. A governor, though in sympathy with the proslavery cause when he was appointed, was usually forced by the logic of events and truth to acknowledge that the right lay with the free-state party.

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<sup>32</sup> Miller, Great Debates in American History, Vol. IV, pp. 336-369.

<sup>33</sup> Kansas News, Emporia, January 3, 1858.

## IV BARRIERS TO SLAVERY EXTENSION

The popular sovereignty principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill involved a sectional struggle for the new territory. "To succeed in making Kansas a slave Territory, it is not sufficient for the South to talk, but to act; to go peacefully and inhabit the territory, and peaceably vote and settle the question according to the principles of the Douglas Bill." Thus advised Atchison in a speech to the Senate.<sup>1</sup> Northern and Southern men alike realized this necessity, for the winners in the conflict would be that side which brought the most people into the territory as permanent residents. The citizens of Missouri crossed the border and voted to make Kansas slave, but as the majority of the actual settlers did not favor a slave state, that institution could not survive, even though it might be sanctioned by a state constitution.

The South attempted expeditions to Kansas,<sup>2</sup> but encumbered as the slaveholders were with their labor system, they could not expect to succeed. The Northern expeditions

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1 James C. Malin, "The Proslavery Background of the Kansas Struggle," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol. X (December, 1925), p. 292; Also, W. M. Andreas, compiler, Political and Legislative Handbook for Kansas (Topeka, 1891), p. 93.

2 Henry Clayton's Expedition, Major Jefferson Buford's Expedition.

were more fruitful. The one primary objective of all emigrant companies in the North was to speculate in land; however, they disguised their real purpose by saying that they were going to make Kansas a free state by settling the land with a population averse to slavery. The three men most active in the organization of these companies were Eli Thayer of Worcester, Massachusetts,<sup>3</sup> Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, and J. M. S. Williams of Boston. Thayer, founder and trustee of the New England Emigrant Aid Company and organizer of the New York and Connecticut Society, pronounced the benediction after the success of his expeditions as follows: "The present crisis was to decide whether freedom or slavery should rule our country for ages to come."<sup>4</sup> According to him slavery was a great national curse that had practically ruined one-half of the nation and had impeded the progress of the other half. It was an obstacle in the way of the Nation's progress and prosperity. The only way to extirpate it was to go to the prairies of Kansas and show the superiority of free labor civilization.

The New England Emigrant Aid Company, under the direction of Thayer, Lawrence, and Williams, devoted most of its attention to the problem of planting free-labor towns in Kansas. During the summer of 1854 five companies were organized and sent to the territory, numbering approximately 750.

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<sup>3</sup> Thayer, Kansas Crusade, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 31, 32.

In 1855, about 650 people joined companies. It is estimated that \$170,000 was expended on the Kansas project.<sup>5</sup> Though there were only thirty-one men who went to Kansas on that first expedition from the North, their example was contagious, and, as they were not murdered upon entering the territory, others soon followed in later expeditions.<sup>6</sup>

A summary of peoples coming to Kansas Territory under the influence of the Emigrant Aid Companies was made in the Herald of Freedom, March 10, 1855: "The first Company, consisting of thirty-one persons, arrived in Lawrence on the first day of August last; the second party arrived the 13th of September, and numbered one hundred and thirty; the third party arrived the 8th of October, and numbered one hundred and sixty-two; the fourth party arrived October 30th, and numbered two hundred and thirty; the fifth party . . . November 20, with one hundred persons; the sixth and last regular party of the season arrived December 1st, and numbered fifty persons; amounting in the aggregate to six hundred and seventy-three . . . . The Pennsylvania Company, numbering fully three hundred persons in all were induced . . . . to come last season in consequence of the advantage they expect to derive from those connected with the Aid

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5 Spring, Kansas, pp. 30-36.

6 Robinson, Kansas Conflict, p. 73.

Company. Ohio sent forward her pioneers, who were also strengthened in their purpose to locate here for the same cause. Hundreds on hundreds of individuals were awakened up on the subject and induced to emigrate . . . ."<sup>7</sup>

The enthusiasm in the North increased as each expedition proved successful. The North was beginning to be more hopeful that Kansas would be a free state. Nowhere do Southern historians, newspapers, or other sources give the reader a parallel account of emigration from the South. "The Emigrant Aid Company," said Amos Lawrence, "undertook to give character and direction to the whole. This society was to be loyal under all circumstances; it was to support the party of law and order, and it was to make Kansas a free State by bona fide settlement if at all."<sup>8</sup> To the Emigrant Aid Societies, then, may be given credit for a large proportion of permanent settlers in the Kansas Territory. It makes very little difference whether they came as a part of the expedition or just received from it the stimulus for coming.

Another opportunity to make Kansas a slave state had slipped by. Those interested in a free-state had proved their ability to bring the largest number of serious-minded

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<sup>7</sup> Herald of Freedom, March 10, 1855.

<sup>8</sup> Robinson, op. cit., p. 95.

people to the territory, who came with every intention to make permanent homes.

Slavery could not have been permanent in Kansas, even though it had been left to advance without any retardation on the part of the North. There were limitations that were more responsible for the failure to establish slavery than all the forces of civil dissension. This, as had already been shown, was realized by Walker and others in 1854. People have amended constitutions; repealed laws of local, state, and national governments; have passed new laws; have overthrown governments. They have changed social, political, and economic conditions. The Dred Scott Decision was a constitutional guarantee of security to all slaveholders if they wished to bring their slaves into the territory, but it resulted in a reverse action. According to statistics, a very few slaves were brought into the territory after 1857, but there was a large exodus of slaves in that year. A mature scholar has said, "The one side fought rancorously for what it was bound to get without fighting; the other, with equal rancor, contended for what in the nature of things it could never use."<sup>9</sup>

Nebraska was not at all suited for slavery--even pro-

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<sup>9</sup> Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," in Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol. XVI (September, 1929), p. 153.



slavery leaders admitted that--and the greater part of Kansas was not. The Kansas climate is too seasonal for a slaveholding system. There are too many months of the year when farm laborers must be idle. The plantation owner could not afford to have the number of slaves necessary to care for the crops during the spring and summer months and then have them idle the remainder of the time. Kansas agricultural methods necessitate a vast amount of work at stated periods of the year, and that demands a more effectual method of farming than the hand labor of the slave.

The staple crops of the South would have to be abandoned for western crops and agricultural methods. Sugar, tobacco, and cotton were not adapted to Kansas soil or Kansas climate. Although Stringfellow and other pre-slavery advocates claimed that the soil was suitable to the growing of hemp, it never became a very profitable crop. Cotton had been the most powerful factor in the westward movement of slavery, but by 1849 and 1850, the western limits of the cotton-growing region had been approximated.<sup>10</sup> That was before the Kansas controversy had started. Since Kansas climatic conditions were not conducive to the raising of cotton, this fact proved to be an insurmountable barrier to slavery extension there. The territory was suitable only for small

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10 Ibid., p. 153.

grains and stock feeding.

Another barrier to be considered in the establishing of slavery in Kansas Territory was the great distance between the large slave states and Kansas. Missouri, of course, was in reasonable distance, but Missourians preferred to come over and vote, rather than settle in the new territory. Moreover, there were but few large slaveholders in Missouri. Contemporaries realized the difficulty of moving whole plantation establishments to a doubtful frontier. The slave owners of Mississippi, Virginia, Alabama, and other large slave states could not transport their slaves except at a great cost. It is true that a northern man with the same distance to traverse could move his possessions to a new country much easier than could a planter encumbered with a cotton plantation and a number of slaves.<sup>11</sup> This was exemplified early in the chapter by the results of Emigrant Aid Companies of the North. It requires much time and expense to close up a business of such magnitude and move to a new country where nothing was certain. In all probability the man from the North had very few possessions to risk. He took his family, if he had one, a few household necessities, and bare equipment for farming--all packed in a covered

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<sup>11</sup> Daniel R. Goodlee, Is It Expedient to Introduce Slavery in Kansas (Cincinnati, 1854), p. 3.

wagon. There is no recorded instance where a large slaveholder ever assumed the risk of giving up his plantation and attempting to move. Moreover, the slaveholders constituted a very small class in any community. "Virginia has the largest slave population of any state in the Union," said Daniel Goodlee, "and yet, with 894,800 white citizens, she had only 55,063 slaveholders in 1850, and of these, more than one-half owned less than five slaves . . . . The enumeration of slaveholders includes all who are interested in one or more slaves, and embraces hundreds and thousands of widows and children who are joint heirs in a single negro."<sup>12</sup>

The slave system presupposed large plantations cultivated by negroes, which meant a smaller voting population. The antislavery citizens could easily have commanded the vote of a community; however, the vote was seldom in their control. The reason was not that there were fewer of them, for the antislavery population outnumbered the proslavery people, but that the latter element from Missouri came over to vote and then returned to their homes. If only bona-fide citizens had voted at the territorial elections, the South could not have stayed in the territory twelve months.

Barriers to slavery may not have been numerous, but

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

they were powerful. New England Emigrant Aid Companies, geographic limitations, the difficulty of moving, the risk of property, the inability of Kansas soil to raise cotton--these were all factors that aided in making the efforts at establishing slavery in Kansas a failure.

#### V SLAVES IN KANSAS

Natural barriers disregarded, was there ever a time when the outlook for a free-state was very doubtful? It is known that slavery was legalized in the territory from May 30, 1854 to February 23, 1860. There are some who would have us think that slavery was practically assured for Kansas in 1854. Proslavery people were in control in the Territorial legislature, and Congress was inclined to favor the South. There was no possibility of Kansas ever becoming a slave state. The slavery institution cannot exist in any territory or state where slaves are not, even though the Constitution acknowledges the status of slavery. Altogether, Kansas Territory can claim but a few over 400 slaves actually living in it. The writer has been able to definitely locate 408 slaves. There were a few more, but the number cannot be ascertained. Of this 408, there were 67 slaves brought into the territory before it was actually opened for settlement, some coming as early as 1837. At least 44 had been returned to the South before 1854. According to the

territorial Census of 1855, there were 192 slaves. 152 of these came to the territory between May, 1854 and February, 1855, the largest number to come in that length of time. Many of these were returned to the South before 1857. After February, 1855, at least 149 came into the territory, but most of them did not stay long, and by 1860 only two slaves were recorded and 591 free negroes.

Among the first to bring slaves to Kansas was Mrs. Henry Rogers. The Rogerses were splendid examples of the pioneer, moving with their slaves from Kentucky to Missouri where they resided until Mr. Rogers's death. Mrs. Rogers and her twenty slaves then moved into the Kansas Territory.<sup>1</sup> This was either during the year of 1838 or before, as the Reverend Thomas Johnson, of the Shawnee Mission, borrowed \$4,000 from Mrs. Rogers in 1838 after she had settled in the territory.<sup>2</sup> Shawnee Mission, Johnson County, Kansas (near the Missouri line), was a Methodist school for Indians. Its very location made it a veritable hotbed for proslavery settlers. Thomas Johnson owned six slaves, Lindy, Jack, Charlotte, and three others which he does not name.<sup>3</sup> In the Methodist Church statistics for 1843, Johnson reports ten

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1 Mrs. Julia Ann Stinson to Zu Adams, Collection of Letters on Slavery (Kansas Historical Library). Mrs. Stinson is the granddaughter of Mrs. Rogers.

2 Blackmar, Kansas, Vol. II, p. 703.

3 A. S. Johnson, Reminiscences of A. S. Johnson dictated April 20, 1895 (Kansas Historical Library), pp. 4, 5.

colored children enrolled in the Mission School. Undoubtedly, these were children of the Johnson slaves and neighboring slaves. Colonel A. S. Johnson, son of Thomas Johnson, had six slaves in 1855<sup>4</sup> and twelve in 1860<sup>5</sup>, when he gave them their freedom and they returned to Missouri. Johnson was a surveyor in Missouri, but owned a farm in Johnson County, Kansas, which his slaves operated.

Major Cummings brought slaves into the territory sometime between 1832 and 1837, and settled on a farm adjoining Shawnee Mission. He returned to Missouri in 1850, taking his fifteen slaves with him. Some of these were children.<sup>6</sup> Mrs. Julia Ann Stinson's parents, Mackinaw Bauchemie and his wife, had two slaves, Moses and Jennie. The Bauchemies lived at Shawnee Mission from 1847 to 1849, where Mr. Bauchemie acted as interpreter for Thomas Johnson.<sup>7</sup> These two slaves may have been of the twenty brought to Kansas by Mrs. Bauchemie's mother, Mrs. Henry Rogers.

There were slaves working for officers in Fort Leavenworth, Fort Riley, and Fort Scott previous to 1854.<sup>8</sup> In a

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4 Territorial Census, 1855. Original copy in Kansas Historical Library, Topeka, Kansas.

5 Johnson, op. cit., pp. 2, 3.

6 Ibid., p. 1.

7 Stinson, loc. cit.

8 Johnson, op. cit., p. 1; H. W. Maskey, Letter, March 26, 1902, Collection of Letters on Slavery (Kansas Historical Library).

few instances they were the property of officers. Major-general George McCall of Fort Leavenworth owned a colored boy whom he called Jordan.<sup>9</sup> Captain McClure says that William A. Hammond, Post Surgeon at Fort Riley, was the owner of two slaves, and the Chaplain of the post had two.<sup>10</sup> A Doctor Hill of Fort Scott is believed to have had several slaves.<sup>11</sup>

Among the Indians possessing slaves were Widow Bulboni of the Fottawatomie Reservation who owned a colored woman,<sup>12</sup> and Baptiste, the interpreter for the Indian tribe near Paola, who also had a colored woman.<sup>13</sup> Joe Parks, who was head chief of the Shawnees, resided near the state line ten miles from Westport, Missouri. He owned three slaves and was very anxious for Kansas to become a slave state. Parks had a large and well-managed farm (2000 acres) and a well-furnished brick house. His wife was of the Wyandotte tribe.<sup>14</sup> David Harlow, a quarter-breed Cherokee, came to the Kansas Territory in 1853 from South Carolina, bringing

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9 Zu Adams, Slaves in Kansas. Paper read before Western Sociosis, September 28, 1895 (Kansas Historical Library).

10 Maskey, loc. cit.; Territorial Census, 1855.

11 Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. XIII, p. 312.

12 Adams, op. cit.

13 S. S. Adair to Zu Adams, September 16, 1895, Collection of Letters on Slavery (Kansas Historical Library).

14 William P. Tomlinson, Kansas in 1858 (New York, 1859), pp. 21, 22.

his wife, nine children, and a few slaves.<sup>15</sup> Several writers were under the impression that slaves were given as gifts to the Indians in order to introduce that institution into the territory. However, no authoritative source has been substantiated.

After the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the opening of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska to settlers, a number of slaves were brought to the Kansas Territory by their owners. The risk was no longer so great since by the bill, Congress could not interfere with slavery in any territory.

Rush Elmore from the State of Alabama was commissioned as associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the territory and sent in June, 1854, by President Pierce.<sup>16</sup> Accompanying Judge Elmore to Shawnee Mission was his family and fourteen slaves. A grandson of Elmore now lives on the farm that Elmore owned, and he claims that his grandfather had sixty slaves working his farms. No other account has been found that verifies that number. However, he may have hired some. In 1855 the Elmore family moved on a claim six miles southeast of Topeka, on Deer Creek.<sup>17</sup> The farm joined the

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<sup>15</sup> Irene G. Stone, "The Lead and Zinc Fields of Kansas," in Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VII, p. 244.

<sup>16</sup> Senate Executive Document No. 23, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> John Sedgwick Freeland, The Slaves of Judge Rush Elmore. Manuscript (Kansas Historical Library).



Freeman farm. Elmore, fearing to hold his slaves in Kansas any longer, sent them south in the spring of 1859.<sup>18</sup> A friend of the Elmore family said, "I stayed with the Elmore family for six weeks during the winter of 1856. The winter was very severe, and the slaves suffered much from the extreme weather, freezing fingers and toes."<sup>19</sup> The winter of 1855-1856 was one of the coldest Kansas ever experienced. Northern people suffered much, but for the Southern people, unaccustomed to severe winters, it was much harder. Mrs. Mitchell tried to convince the Elmore family that the negroes could not endure the Kansas climate.

Evidently, many of these slaves were moved out of the territory before the census of 1855 was taken, for very few were listed there. Governor Reeder ordered an official census to be taken when he first came so that an election for a territorial representative might be possible. To facilitate the work the territory was divided into seventeen districts.<sup>20</sup> On "October 18, 1854, the Governor, with Judges Johnston, Elmore, and Marshall Donelson and others,

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Mrs. E. E. Mitchell to F. G. Adams, September 26, 1896, Collection of Letters on Slavery (Kansas Historical Library).

<sup>20</sup> See map in app., p. 71, for location of districts.

went into the territory to examine the same in order to the making of election districts . . . ."<sup>21</sup> Out of 8,501 total population in the territory, 2,905 were citizens, 192 were slaves, and 151 were free negroes.<sup>22</sup> The following tabulation will show the number of slaves and where they were settled in the territory, according to districts in 1855:<sup>23</sup>

<u>District</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of Slaves</u>
I	Sylvester Davis	Farmer	One
II	Paris Ellison	Farmer	Four
	George W. Ward	Farmer	One
	Wm. F. Johnson	Farmer	Two
III	A. W. Vaughn	Merchant	One
	Luke W. Hunter	Doctor	One
	Thomas M. Kinson	Farmer	One
	Robert Timerwell	Mechanic	One
	James Wisman	Farmer	Two
IV	J. B. Davie	Farmer	Two
V	H. S. Randall	Trader	Two
	John Yocum	Farmer	Six
	Albert Law	Farmer	Seven
	B. H. James	Indian Agent	Ten
	S. M. Hayee	Trader	One
VI	H. T. Wilson	Merchant	Seven
	Thomas B. Arnott	Hotel Keeper	Four
VII	M. W. McGee	Merchant	One

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21 Senate Executive Document No. 23, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 5.

22 Territorial Census, 1855.

23 Ibid.

<u>District</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of Slaves</u>
VIII	John Smith	Blacksmith	One
	Margaret Smith		One
	Kings		Three
	Lucinda Huffaker		One
	Mary Johnston Bakers		One Three
IX	Robert Wilson	Merchant	Two
	Wm. A. Hammond	Physician	One
	Pascal	Farmer	One
	Johnson	Farmer	Four
X	(No Slaves)		
XI	(No Slaves)		
XII	[Not Legible]	Farmer	Three
	Fox Booth	Farmer	One
	Wm. Lovelady	Lawyer	Three
XIII	James Kirkendall	Farmer	Two
	Y. M. Dyer	Merchant	Two
	A. J. Morrow	Farmer	Three
	Richard Chandler	Farmer	One
XIV	John W. Foreman	Farmer	One
	Paris Dunning	Farmer	One
	John Grace	Farmer	One
	Daniel Vanderslice	Indian Agent	One
	Wm. Mathews	Farmer	Three
	Gary Whitehead	Farmer	Two
	Stephen Bill	Farmer	One
	Sweeney	Farmer	One
	Wm. Richardson	Farmer	Four
	Trent	Farmer	One
	Joseph Crippen	Farmer	One
	Henry Moore	Farmer	One
	T. M. Palmer	Farmer	Two
	James Whitehead	Farmer	One
	John Whitehead	Farmer	Two
	James O'Toole	Farmer	Four
	W. E. Briant	Farmer	Four
	Wm. McGrew	Farmer	Two

<u>District</u>	<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of Slaves</u>
XV	D. A. M. Grover	Lawyer	Two
	Wm. Dyer	Merchant	Three
	S. M. Tunnel	Carpenter	One
	H. M. Story	Mechanic	One
	Washington Haze	Farmer	One
	Grafton Thomason	Miller	Three
	Charles Eckler	Farmer	Three
	S. P. Ray	Farmer	Three
XVI	Isaac Monday	Mechanic	Six
	James Findlay	Merchant	Two
	R. R. Rees	Lawyer	One
	B. L. Cand	Clerk	One
	Theo. M. Mix		One
	James Rich		Four
	H. D. McMeeken	Merchant	One
	L. D. Pritchett	Farmer	Three
	R. P. Briggs	Farmer	One
	Nathaniel Talbot	Clergyman	Six
	Chas. Garnett	Farmer	Four
	D. Dofflemyer	Clergyman	Three
XVII	S. D. Lecompte	Judge	Two
	Alex Johnson	Surveyor	Six
	J. Hereford		One
	B. F. Robinson	Indian Agent	Two
	[Not Legible]	[Not Legible]	One
	"	"	Four
	"	"	Six
	"	"	One

One of Milton E. Bryan's (Briant) slaves later married, and was living on the Bryan place in 1895.<sup>24</sup> Many settlers of Allen County in the fourth district, were proslavery men, but very few of them brought slaves with them. There was so much antagonism exhibited toward the slaveholders, that the

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<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Williams to Zu Adams, Collection of Letters on Slavery (Kansas Historical Library).

few slaves there were either given their freedom or taken from the county.<sup>25</sup> The only settlement in the eighth district was at Council Grove; the total number of inhabitants was eighty-three, including the ten slaves.<sup>26</sup>

Slaves brought into the Territory after February, 1855, were not so numerous. C. W. Rust and family, free-soilers living near Douglas County, were under the impression that Atchison and Jefferson counties were the strongholds of slavery, and living there was extremely dangerous for free-soilers. The struggle was carried on by ruffians rather than by genuine slaveholders.<sup>27</sup> A. M. Million of Atchison lived in the territory between 1857 and 1859 with six slaves.<sup>28</sup> Duff Green of Monrovia, near Atchison, had two slaves, a woman and child. Green sold the two slaves in 1859. While enroute to Missouri to deliver them, the two, assisted by the Reverend J. H. Byrd, escaped.<sup>29</sup> It is believed that they passed through Holton in their escape, Holton at that time being an underground railroad station.<sup>30</sup>

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25 Blackmar, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 60.

26 James R. McClure. "Taking the Census and Other Incidents in 1855," in Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. VIII, p. 234.

27 C. W. Rust, Observations and Experiences in Atchison and Jefferson Counties, 1855. Manuscript (Kansas Historical Library).

28 H. L. Stein to G. W. Martin, May 31, 1903, Collection of Letters on Slavery (Kansas Historical Library).

29 Isaac Maris to F. G. Adams, July 20, 1895; George Evans to F. G. Adams, May 10, 1895, Collection of Letters on Slavery (Kansas Historical Library).

30 Maris, *loc. cit.*

Newby of Crooked Creek had six; Abel of Atchison, one, but she disappeared in 1859.<sup>31</sup> Benjamin Stringfellow declared that there were a number of slaves on the Kansas side in 1855, but the risk was too great for the owners to keep them here. He estimated the number in and near Atchison to be approximately ninety. However, only thirty-three can be accounted for in both Atchison and Jefferson counties at that time.

Phineas Skinner, a stock ranchman and store keeper on Elk Creek, in Calhoun County (now Jackson) owned at least two slaves. However, he sent his back to the South almost immediately. Calhoun County was strongly antislavery.<sup>32</sup>

Easton, Kansas, claimed a few slaves, brought by John Gallagher of Louisville, Kentucky in 1855.<sup>33</sup> There were two mulatto slaves, belonging to Mrs. George Young of Topeka. Louis Harris and Perry Fleshman, also of Topeka, each had one slave.<sup>34</sup> A certain Rawlston of Leavenworth had a little negro boy, nine years old. Mrs. H. P. Johnson of Leavenworth had some slaves.<sup>35</sup> In 1856 a man named Jones of Palmyra, owned two negro boys. He was visited by a crowd of free-state men and compelled to leave the territory. The two

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31 Adams, op. cit.

32 Ibid.

33 Maskey, loc. cit.

34 Fannie Cole to Lu Adams, October 20, 1895, Collection of Letters on Slavery (Kansas Historical Library).

35 Adams, op. cit.

slaves were offered their freedom, but preferred to go away with their master.<sup>36</sup>

Many proslavery people settled in or near Lecompton. Recognition should certainly be given to James Skagg for his efforts in promoting the institution of slavery in Kansas. He was the largest slave owner in the territory to bring his slaves with him, twenty-seven in all. Skagg soon saw the futility of making Kansas a slave state, and realizing the danger of remaining here with his slaves, took them to Texas in 1858. In 1870 Skagg was found near Parker, Kansas, living on a farm owned by one of his former slaves.<sup>37</sup> Other slave-owners near Lecompton were William Douglas, who owned one slave;<sup>38</sup> Mrs. Mary Brooks, four;<sup>39</sup> Thomas R. Bayne, three; Colonel Titus and Clark, one. Bayne came to Kansas in 1850 and stayed until the emancipation was declared, but he hired his slaves out. One, Fresman, worked on the Kansas City Journal. His sister was one of the Skagg's slaves.<sup>40</sup> Ann Clark, belonging to Clark and Titus, ran away.<sup>41</sup>

Jefferson County records contain a census of that

36 Lawrence Journal-world, March 13, 1903.

37 John Speer, Reminiscences of James Skagg. Manuscript (Kansas Historical Library).

38 William Leamer to Zu Adams, June 13, 1895, Collection of Letters on Slavery (Kansas Historical Library).

39 Speer, op. cit.

40 Marcus Freeman, A Story of His Life as a Slave. Manuscript (Kansas Historical Library).

41 Speer, op. cit.

county taken in 1857. The census reveals a total of fifty-three slaves: William Dyer, two; W. H. Tebbs, three; B. D. Davidson, one; A. H. Deaver, five; Franklin Finch, one; M. Pemberton, seven; J. J. Parks, two; M. Burton, one; Jesse Miller, eighteen; John Huntington, four; W. C. Crockett, one; T. H. Stewart, two; Thos. Lamar, one; T. Cobb, four; Thomas Seagg, one; Alex Bayne, two.<sup>42</sup>

Bowen of Washington Creek, Douglas County, brought a family of slaves from Kentucky including a mother, father, and eight children.<sup>43</sup> Bowen and his slaves were run out of Kansas by a Captain A. Randlet and a company of free-state men. According to an article in the Topeka Journal, "There was a man named Tom Bourn, who went to Kansas from Virginia by steamboat. He took a cargo of slaves [some authorities say 12] with him, to establish the institution. Soon after his arrival Tom got scared and wanted to go back to Virginia but his slaves persuaded him to stay, and one of them, an old preacher, said to Tom: 'We's come to occupy de lan' and, bress Gawd we'll see it froo.' In less than two weeks every-one of them ran away to the North and Tom Bourn returned to

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<sup>42</sup> Jefferson County Independent, July 1, 1876 (taken from the Jefferson County Records, 1857).

<sup>43</sup> Speer, op. cit.



Virginia alone and died heartbroken."<sup>44</sup> As late as the year 1858, Missourians hired out slaves at Lawrence and received their wages.<sup>45</sup> Buck Scott was one of these. He worked in Lawrence and sent 70 per cent of his earnings back to his master.<sup>46</sup>

A contemporary historian quotes the following from the St. Louis Intelligencer of August 30, 1855. "Fully five hundred slaves, on their way to Kansas, have passed since the opening of the Missouri River."<sup>47</sup> If there were that many then, the owners must have kept very quiet about it, and there would have been no object in that. Missouri leaders perceived the necessity and expediency of immediately flooding Kansas with slaves. "They believed at this time, and still believe, that this strategy, courageously and persistently prosecuted, would have won the day." Most of the slaves were from Missouri. "Alabama and Georgia may hold public meetings and resolve to sustain the slaveholders of Missouri in making Kansas a slave state. But their resolutions comprise all their aid . . . ."<sup>48</sup>

There was an attempt to take another territorial census in 1857, but it was never completed. Consequently, it is

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44 Topeka Journal, January 10, 1903.

45 Spring, Kansas, p. 64.

46 Speer, op. cit.

47 Blackmar, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 704.

48 Ibid., p. 704.

not known exactly when all these slaves were either freed or returned to the South. However, there was a census in 1860, before Kansas was given statehood, and only two slaves were reported. John Haskell reports in The Passing of Slavery in Western Missouri, "In December, 1858, I boarded a boat at Leavenworth for Jefferson City. I soon discovered that boat was taking on a cargo of slaves enroute to St. Louis and the Lower Mississippi."<sup>49</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Kansas, the hope of the South, was lost as far as slavery was concerned. The establishment of the slave institution in Kansas was prohibited by territorial legislation, February 23, 1860, and by Congressional legislation when Kansas was admitted, as a state, into the Union under the Wyandotte constitution. Constitutionally the contest over slavery in Kansas was not closed until January 29, 1861. In actuality, however, there was no struggle after the Dred Scott Decision made slavery secure in the territory.

Slavery agitation in Kansas has been interesting propaganda, but propaganda does not make a state free or slave. Slavery could never have been a permanent institution in

Kansas. Geographical lines alone would have barred it out. Cotton, the greatest factor in slavery extension, had reached its westward limit before it got as far west as Kansas. The risk of property and the expense of transporting slaves to the territory was too great to be undertaken by many slaveholders. Benjamin Stringfellow, in 1854, said that 2000 slaves in Kansas would be enough to establish slavery there. That goal was missed by 1500 slaves. All together, 408 slaves in a territory, covering a period of about twenty-three years, with 192 the largest number at any given time and only two in 1860, does not make 2000 slaves and does not establish slavery.

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## APPENDIX

## Slaves in Kansas Prior To 1854

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Left Territory</u>
Mrs. Henry Rogers	Farmer	Johnson County	20	1855*
Thomas Johnson	Minister	" "	6	1857*
A. E. Johnson	Surveyor and Farmer	" "	12	1860
Major Cumming	Farmer	" "	15	1850
Mackinaw Bauchemie	Indian Interpreter	" "	2	1847
George McCall	Army Officer	Fort Leavenworth	1	1854
Wm. H. Hammond	Army Surgeon	Fort Riley	2	1856
?	Army Chaplin	" "	2	1855*
Dr. Hill	Army Surgeon	Fort Scott	2	1855
Widow Bulboni	Indian	Johnson County	1	----
Baptiste	Indian Interpreter	Paola	1	----
Jo. Parks	Indian Farmer	Johnson County	3	----
David Harlowe	Indian Farmer	?	Several	----

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\* Left sometime before date mentioned

## Slaves in Kansas - Census of February, 1855

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Location (District)</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Left Territory</u>
Rush Elmore	Associate Justice of Territory	Deer Creek near Topeka	14	1859
Sylvester Davis	Farmer	I	1	1857*
Paris Ellison	Farmer	II	4	1857*
George W. Ward	Farmer		1	1857*
Wm. F. Johnson	Farmer		2	1857*
A. W. Vaughn	Merchant	III	1	1857*
Luke W. Hunter	Doctor		1	1857*
Thomas N. Kinson	Farmer		1	1857*
Robert Timerswell	Mechanic		1	1857*
James Wisman	Farmer		2	1857*
J. B. Davis	Farmer	IV	2	1857*
H. S. Randall	Trader	V	2	1857*
John Yocum	Farmer		6	1857*
Albert Law	Farmer		7	1857*
B. H. James	Indian Agent		10	1857*
S. M. Hayes	Trader		1	1857*
H. T. Wilson	Merchant	VI	7	1857*
Thomas B. Arnett	Hotel Keeper		4	1857*
M. W. McGee	Merchant	VII	1	1857*
John Smith	Blacksmith	VIII	1	1857*
Margaret Smith			1	1857*
Kings			3	1857*
Lucinda Hufferaker			1	1857*
Mary Johnston			1	1857*
Bakers			3	1857*
Robert Wilson	Merchant	IX	2	1857*
Wm. A. Hammond	Physician		1	1857*
Pascal	Farmer		1	1857*
Johnson	Farmer		4	1857*

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Location (District)</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Left Territory</u>
(No Slaves)		X		
(No Slaves)		XI		
[Not Legible]	Farmer	XII	3	1857*
Fox Booth	Farmer		1	1857*
Wm. Lovelady	Lawyer		3	1857*
James Kirkendall	Farmer	XIII	2	1857*
Y. M. Dyer	Merchant		2	1857*
A. J. Morrow	Farmer		3	1857*
Richard Chandler	Farmer		1	1857*
John W. Foreman	Farmer	XIV	1	1857*
Paris Dunning	Farmer		1	1857*
John Grace	Farmer		1	1857*
Daniel Vanderalice	Indian Agent		1	1857*
Wm. Mathews	Farmer		3	1857*
Gary Whitehead	Farmer		2	1857*
Stephen Bill	Farmer		1	1857*
Sweeney	Farmer		1	1857*
Wm. Richardson	Farmer		4	1857*
Trent	Farmer		1	1857*
Joseph Crippen	Farmer		1	1857*
Henry Moore	Farmer		1	1857*
T. M. Palmer	Farmer		2	1857*
James Whitehead	Farmer		1	1857*
John Whitehead	Farmer		2	1857*
James O'Toole	Farmer		4	1857*
W. E. Briant	Farmer		4	1860
Wm. McGrew	Farmer		2	1857*
D. A. M. Grover	Lawyer	XV	2	1857*
Wm. Dyer	Merchant		3	1860
S. M. Tunnel	Carpenter		1	1857*
H. M. Story	Mechanic		1	1857*
Washington Haze	Farmer		1	1857*
Grafton Thomason	Miller		3	1857*
Charles Eckler	Farmer		3	1857*
S. F. Ray	Farmer		3	1857*
Isaac Monday	Mechanic	XVI	6	1857*
James Findlay	Merchant		2	1857*
R. R. Rees	Lawyer		1	1857*
B. L. Cand	Clerk		1	1857*

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Location (District)</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Left Territory</u>
Theo. M. Mix		XVI	1	1857*
James Rich			4	1857*
H. D. McMeeken	Merchant		1	1857*
L. D. Pritchen	Farmer		3	1857*
R. P. Briggs	Farmer		1	1857*
Nathaniel Talbot	Clergyman		6	1857*
Chas. Garnett	Farmer		4	1857*
D. Dofflemyer	Clergyman		3	1857*
S. D. Lecompte	Judge	XVII	2	1857*
Alex Johnson	Surveyor		6	1860
J. Hereford			1	1857*
B. P. Robinson	Indian Agent		2	1857*
[Not Legible]	[Not Legible]		1	1857*
"	"		4	1857*
"	"		6	1857*
"	"		1	1857*

\* Left sometime before date mentioned.

Slaves Brought To Kansas After February, 1855

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Left Territory</u>
A. M. Million	Merchant	Atchison	6	1857
Duff Green	?	Monrovia	2	1859
Newby	Farmer	Crooked Creek	6	1860*
Abel	Farmer	Atchison	1	1859
Phineas Skinner	Stock Ranchman	Calhoun Co. (Jackson)	2	1856
John Gallagher	Farmer	Easton	Several	1857*
Mrs. George Young	?	Topeka	2	1860*
Louis Harris	Farmer	"	1	1860*
Perry Fleahman	Farmer	"	1	1860*
Rawlston	?	Leavenworth	1	1860*
Mrs. H. P. Johnson	?	"	Several	1860*
Jones	Farmer	Palmyra (Baldwin)	2	1856
Wm. Douglas	Farmer	Lecompton	1	1860*
Mrs. Mary Brooks	?	"	4	1860*
James Skagg	Farmer	"	27	1858

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Left Territory</u>
T. R. Bayne	?	Lecompton	3	1860
Colonel Titus and Clark	?	"	1	1857
W. H. Tebbs	?	Jefferson County	3	1860*
B. D. Davidson	?	"	1	1860*
A. H. Deaver	Farmer	"	5	1860*
Franklin Finch	Farmer	"	1	1860*
M. Pemberton	Farmer	"	7	1860*
J. J. Parks	Farmer	"	2	1860*
M. Burton	Farmer	"	1	1860*
Jesse Miller	Farmer	"	18	1860*
J. Huntington	?	"	4	1860*
W. C. Crockett	?	"	1	1860*
T. H. Stewart	?	"	2	1860*
Thomas Lamar	?	"	1	1860*
T. Cobb	Farmer	"	4	1860*
Thomas Skagg	Farmer	"	1	1860*
Alex Bayne	Farmer	"	2	1860
Bowen	Farmer	Douglas Co.	10	1857?
Tom Bowen	Farmer	"	12	1856

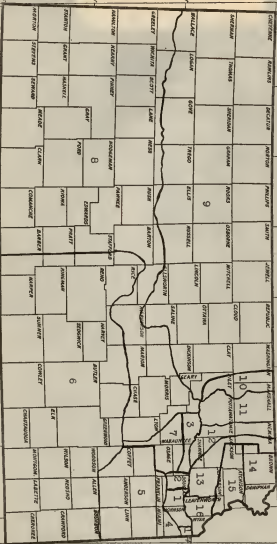
Total owners 120

Total Slaves 408 plus

\* Left sometime before date mentioned.

# KANSAS

SCALE - MILES AND



## TERRITORIAL DISTRICTS OF KANSAS, 1854-1861